1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

skin pails. The Maritime Koryak carry a supply of fresh water when hunting in their skin boats. In order to avoid the necessity of melting snow and ice, in winter, water is generally taken from ice-holes. All the settlements of the Maritime Koryak are situated on the banks or at the mouths of rivers. The Reindeer Koryak, too, place their tents in river valleys. Plate XXX, Fig. 1, represents an evening scene by an ice-hole in the village Big Itkana, where girls and boys come with buckets to fetch water for the night. The water is poured into the bucket with a wooden scoop. Water-buckets are made of strong thong-seal skin or of aspen or poplar wood. Fig. 104 shows a skin bucket. Among the Eskimo are found buckets of the same type, made of seal-skin and sewed together with sinew-thread.[1] They are carried in a different manner however. The Eskimo bucket has a handle made of a strip of leather, like a regular bucket-handle, while the Koryak bucket has two loops sewed on near the mouth. To these loops are tied the ends of a broad seal-skin carrying-strap, which is passed over the forehead, the bucket resting on the back, — a method of carrying burdens employed by many Indian tribes.

Fig. 104 ($\frac{1}{11}$). Skin Bucket.

The thick wooden bucket is also cylindrical. The material is supplied by a part of a straight and solid trunk of an aspen or poplar tree, which is hollowed out by means of an adze, and finished with a simple knife. The wooden bottom is inserted from above. Wooden buckets are carried by women in the same way as seal-skin buckets (see Plate XXXV, Fig. 2).

The wooden bucket is used for many purposes: when hunting sea-mammals, it serves as a receptacle for the harpoon-heads; in the house, seal-oil is kept in it; berries are also kept in both wooden and skin buckets; soup for feeding dogs is carried out of the house in wooden buckets.

The material for spoons and ladles is furnished by the antlers of the reindeer and the horns of the mountain-sheep. Some are made of wood. Broth is sipped from deep ladles; thick porridge or gruel is eaten with spoons; therefore spoons are shallow (Fig. 105, *a*). Bone teaspoons (Fig. 105, *b*) are made in imitation of imported metal spoons. Wealthy Reindeer Koryak purchase metal table-spoons; some of them even have silver spoons.

Wooden plates, dishes, elongated platters and trays, and wooden and bone dippers, are of the same type as those of the Chukchee,[2] and I shall not

[1] See, for example, Kumlien, The Eskimo of Smith Sound, Fig. 31, p. 388; and Boas, Baffin-Land Eskimo, Fig. 142, p. 99.

[2] See Bogoras, The Chukchee, Vol. VII of this series, p. 189.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

514 177 556 a wooden chamber-vessel, rich reindeer-breeders use imported brass wash-basins. Once when I had to remain over night at the tent of a wealthy reindeer-breeder, I had to sleep in the same tent with the proprietors. As soon as I entered the inner tent, and before I had had time to warm up and drink my tea, the host, as a special mark of courtesy, brought in the brass basin and placed it in the corner of the tent.

262 ANIMAL FOOD. — Animal food is the principal, if not the exclusive nourishment of the Koryak, particularly of the Reindeer Koryak, who use less vegetable food than do the Maritime people. Animal food consists of fish, sea-mammals, reindeer, mountain-sheep, bears, birds, and shell-fish.

262 252 Fish, fresh and sun-dried, is the main food of the Maritime Koryak. During the summer and autumn, boiled fresh fish is eaten. The people are also fond of frying fresh fish on spits. Heads of fish are eaten raw, the cartilages being considered dainties. In winter, fish is eaten both cooked and raw. Raw fish is eaten frozen and sliced into thin chips. The eating of frozen fish is, however, much more widespread among the Arctic tribes west of the Stanovoi Ridge and among the Russians.

251 Dried fish (called by the Russian settlers "yukola") is prepared by the women on the river-bank or seashore during the summer fishing-season, and is preserved for winter use. Plate XXX, Fig. 2, shows how the women cut fresh dog-salmon for drying it in the sun. First the head is cut off, which is dried separately. Then the maw is ripped open with a knife, and the entrails are taken out. The roe is dried separately, and the flesh is cut in broad strips along both sides of the backbone. These strips remain joined at the tail, and are thus hung over the poles of the drying-frames. On sunny days the drying proceeds very fast. In three or four days the yukola is ready. In clear weather the preliminary drying is done on open drying-frames, as shown on Plate XXXI. When dry, the yukola is taken off from the drying-frames and hung under the platform of the storehouse. In autumn, when the nights are cold, and there is no danger of rot being caused by dampness, the dried fish are piled up and placed in the storehouse. The sun-dried fish is covered with a dry crust, beneath which the flesh remains soft, and the fat is preserved; but the process of air-drying rarely goes on without trouble. On hot days, in the absence of winds, numerous large flies settle on the fish, and lay their eggs. After two or three days, larvæ come out, which devour the juicy part of the yukola, and leave only a thin, dry, and tasteless layer on the skin. The preparation of the yukola fares still worse if foggy and rainy days prevail during the period of the main catch. Though hung up under special platforms or under the platform of the storehouse, the sliced fish does not dry, but begins to decompose, and the decaying pieces become detached from the skin and fall to the ground; so that in a wet summer, even when the catch of fish has been excellent, the Koryak

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

stone hammer or with a blow of the back of a large knife. On journeys, frozen raw meat, cut into thin slices is eaten; but reindeer-meat is generally eaten cooked. At present meat is cooked in iron or copper kettles. In winter, especially in the tents of wealthy reindeer-breeders, these kettles always hang over the fire in the outer tent, full of hot broth, which is not served on the table at the regular meals, but is used at all hours for quenching the thirst. Whoever wants a drink takes a small ladle and dips out some of the broth from the kettle. The herdsman, on coming home from the pasture, straightway refreshes himself with broth. The kettle is not cleaned. Meat, intestines, reindeer-tongues, and other parts of the animal, left from the previous cooking, are thrown into the broth. The meat is cooked for a short time, for the Koryak do not like it well done. The kettle is full of dirt from the hands of the cooks, and of reindeer-hair, which drops in with the unwashed meat; but that does not prevent the broth from being a refreshing drink. When the liquid in the kettle runs too low, water is added or snow is thrown in. Thus the kettle is kept full until the camp is broken up to be moved to another place. The women serve cooked meat in the inner tent. After it has been cut into pieces, it is placed on boards, wooden platters, or troughs. The Koryak take hold of a chunk of meat with the left hand, and, holding it with their teeth, cut off a mouthful with a knife held in the right, cutting from below upward. All Siberian natives eat meat in the same manner. For journeys, meat-cutlets are made of raw meat by pounding meat and reindeer fat with a stone hammer. If edible roots are at hand, they are added.

However, the food of the Reindeer Koryak does not consist of reindeer-meat alone. To a considerable degree they resort to the fish and sea-food of the Maritime Koryak; just as the latter, in winter, purchase reindeer from the Reindeer Koryak. Wealthy reindeer-breeders who wander far from the sea-coast, use almost no fish at all, and even less sea-mammals. They catch fish only in summer in mountain-rivers in small nets or weirs, but do not store it up for winter. Besides, the catch in mountain-rivers is insignificant.[1] They eat sea-food and dog-salmon only when people from the coast import them, or when one of their own number visits the coast in winter.

Those who own small herds of reindeer and do not tend the herds of wealthy herd-owners, but wander about alone, must procure supplies of fish for winter, since they cannot afford to kill many reindeer. These poor reindeer-breeders go out in summer to the mouth of some river or to the sea-coast, and there dry fish for winter use. On occasion they also kill sea-mammals, but usually they own no skin boats, and do not go out to sea to hunt. Some wealthy reindeer-breeders — for instance, those on the west

[1] See pp. 529, 534.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

262 233 556 side of the Taigonos Peninsula, who wander with their herds near the Russian villages or near the main trail, and are often visited by Russians on their dog-sledges — send out in summer several members of their families to prepare a supply of sun-dried fish for winter use, and for food for their guests and for their dogs, that they may not have to kill too many reindeer for this purpose. A whole small reindeer suffices for but a single feeding of a team of ten or twelve dogs.

262 574 439 Generally speaking, the Reindeer Koryak are very fond of eating dried dog-salmon and "sea-morsels," (i. e., the meat and blubber of sea-mammals). They seek every opportunity to satisfy this craving, which is possibly a survival from a period when the present nomadic reindeer-breeders were still maritime hunters. As soon as the snow is in good condition for driving, the Reindeer Koryak begin to appear on sledges in the villages of the Maritime Koryak to obtain "sea-food," and barter entire carcasses of frozen seal, oil, dog-salmon, and skin of the white whale. Each Reindeer Koryak has among the Maritime people a friend who supplies him with sea-food, and who, in his turn, later on visits the nomad camp of the Reindeer Koryak to get reindeer-meat.

262 With all the craving of the Reindeer Koryak for the "sea-morsels," they dislike subsisting long on sea-food. Thus a wealthy Taigonos reindeer-breeder told me that his sons had lived too long on the coast, subsisting on fish and seal alone, and had become completely worn out. He then went to his herd and killed a reindeer for them, that they might regain their strength. On the other hand, the Maritime Koryak like to obtain reindeer meat and fat, even when they have plenty of fish; while in winter, when fishing is poor, they often visit the nomad camp of the Reindeer Koryak either to buy reindeer-meat or to obtain it by begging.

223 262 In describing bird-hunting,[1] I mentioned that its economic importance is slight. The Koryak do not like sea-gulls, and consider them tasteless; but when food is scarce, they do not disdain them. Early in summer, previous to the fishing-season, the Maritime Koryak eat all kinds of sea-fowl; but when fishing and sealing begin, bird-hunting ceases. The Koryak are very fond of birds' eggs. During the nesting-season they undertake expeditions to the islands in skin boats to gather eggs, which are collected by hundreds and eaten boiled right after they have been gathered, or on the following days. [252] They do not discriminate between new-laid and rotten eggs. Once I was present when some Koryak were eating boiled eggs which were so decomposed that a strong odor was noticeable a long way off. In many eggs there were already half-hatched birds, but this did not in the least prevent the Koryak from relishing their food.

[1] See p. 557.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Kamchadal ports Tigil and Petropavlovsk, and that are used for clothing by the Kamchadal and the Russians in Kamchatka.

MANAGEMENT OF FOOD-SUPPLIES. — I have had occasion to observe many cases of lack of foresight in northern Siberia. Thus the Yukaghir, in the early part of winter, squander their supplies of fish, and regale their Yakut visitors liberally, while towards spring they go hungry. The lack of restraint or foresight also hinders the growth of the Tungus herds. A poor Tungus will kill his riding-reindeer for meat more readily than will a wealthy Koryak kill one that has not been broken. On this abstinence is based the increase of the Koryak herds. A herd-owner, like the simple herdsman, while tending the herd far from home, will feed on carrion or will go hungry rather than kill a reindeer for himself. Some travellers have complained of the stinginess of the Reindeer Koryak and of their reluctance to kill reindeer for their guests, to whom they serve the meat of animals fallen from disease. Notwithstanding all his abstemiousness, the owner of a herd, as I have said above, may kill reindeer for actually starving people, and at times becomes recklessly extravagant in order to show off his wealth.

The Maritime Koryak consume the provisions laid up in their storehouses economically, and hide them from visitors, lest they might ask for some. In the village Kamenskoye, where the main supply of fish consists of dog-salmon, I was told that for years at a time full storehouses of dried uyo'k (*Salmo socialis*) are kept for the contingency of a poor catch of dog-salmon.

Thanks to such foresight, and to the relative abundance of fish and sea-mammals in Koryak waters, actual famines are very rare among the Maritime Koryak. However, a great famine occurred in the late seventies along the coasts of Penshina Bay. I did not succeed in learning the exact date. During that summer almost no fish entered the rivers. As a result of this, there were almost no sea-mammals, either, near the coast. Therefore there was not enough food for the winter; and in spring a genuine famine set in, especially when the snow began to melt, and communication with the Reindeer Koryak and the Russians became impossible. I was told that during that famine nearly half of the population of the Itkana villages and a part of the Paren people died. Since then no such disastrous summer has recurred, although toward spring food has been scanty every year.

Thanks to their herds, the Reindeer Koryak are secure against such famine. Poor people usually keep near the herd of a wealthy kinsman, or follow him and avail themselves of his gifts when in need. Murrain, which frequently appears among the reindeer, naturally undermines the prosperity of the herd-owners; but during the epidemic there can be no famine, as the Koryak eat the fallen reindeer.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R44 Koryak R74

The Koryak extend their friendship also to the Russians, whose presents [609]
generally consist of tea, tobacco, baked bread, biscuits, flour, and other 572
imported articles. 574

A Koryak, on his arrival in a settlement or camp, makes his headquarters 437
in the house or tent of a friend, and while there partakes of the meals as a member of the family. The lads feed his dogs or guard his reindeer. Among the Maritime Koryak a place is reserved for his bed on the platform in the front part of the subterranean house, while among the Reindeer Koryak he passes the night in the host's own sleeping-tent or in a separate sleeping-tent. In ancient times the "friends" were met with fire from the hearth, obviously in demonstration of the amicable feelings of the hearth as the family protector, and of the host. At the present time, these friends, as all [576] other visitors, are met with the greeting "Eh, ye'ti!" which means simply "Ah, thou hast come!" to which the visitor answers, "Ye'ti."

Clearly, the fraternities as a social institution have a utilitarian basis; 761
but we also find certain manifestations of a social feeling of altruistic character. Thus the announcement of the death of a member of the family, made by the relatives to all the inhabitants of the settlement or of the surrounding camps, is obviously intended as a warning of the danger from evil spirits, which caused the death. The neighbors thus informed at once take protective measures.[1]

As a rule, material support is offered by the more prosperous only to 476
relatives. In times of famine, however, the provisions are divided indiscriminately among all the inhabitants of the settlement who are in need. 731

If we disregard for a moment the influence of the Russians on the social 174
life of the Koryak, it can, I think, be asserted that the independent development of social forms among the Maritime Koryak could hardly have reached 565
the stage at which the nobility and the common people would appear as two 558
sharply defined hereditary classes. The brave warrior and the clever hunter, who, as a rule, ranked above the masses as protectors and providers of the group, lost their influential positions during famines in years when huntin and fishing had been unsuccessful. Not so with the Reindeer Koryak.

The concentration of fortunes in the form of large herds in the hands 174
of single individuals, and the perpetuation of these fortunes through inheri- 565
tance, might have furthered social differentiation, and led to the formation of 556
aristocratic families. In ancient times the possessor of a large herd had to be not merely a good shepherd, but a warrior well able to protect his herds against the attacks of enemies. Around him as a natural protector would cluster, first of all, groups of relatives, but also neighbors (na'mtumgin, "neighbor in camp") possessing but small herds or no herds at all. These people would become herdsmen subordinate in position, while it devolved on

[1] See Part I, p. 104.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the master to provide them with food and with skins for clothes. Able herdsmen would receive reindeer as presents from the master. In the further progress of these relations, the rich possessors of herds might have consolidated into an hereditary ruling class. This was prevented solely by the low character of the reindeer-culture. Frequent reindeer-pests, against which these primitive reindeer-breeders were and still are powerless, suddenly transformed rich herdsmen into beggars.

The life of the masters was in no way different from the life of the poor herdsmen. The latter were not considered a lower class. Good herdsmen could expect not only to marry the master's daughter, as they do up to the present time, but to receive from the master a part of his herd. In one myth[1] we are told that Big-Raven handed over to his son-in-law the larger half of his herd, the latter having proved himself a good herdsman. In another tale Big-Raven presents a part of his herd to the herdsman simply on account of his being a faithful worker.[2]

The Koryak say that in ancient times the rich and the strong men held slaves. These remained at home, and were employed for different kinds of housework, and under the supervision of the women. It is difficult to ascertain in how far they were the property of the conquerors, and whether they could be bought and sold. In my opinion, slavery as a regulated institution could hardly have existed to any great extent; for, as intimated above, the Koryak had little faith in their captives, and generally put them to death, fearing their vengeance.

In this connection, a myth in which it is related that parents gave to their married daughter one woman for cooking and one for sewing,[3] is of interest. These women, of course, could not have been hired servants in the modern sense, but must have been slaves with whom the masters could do as they pleased.

Present Forms of Social Life. — I have already referred to the deteriorating influence which contact with the Russians has had on the development of the social relations of the Koryak. Relative security, with the cessation of wars and the waning of superstitions, weakened or eliminated the anti-social tendency towards the isolation of individual families. Such customs as the guarding of the family hearth against contact with objects belonging to other families, are now, under Russian influence, either but partly observed or they have been completely abandoned.

In the settlement Itkana, for instance, the only time when the family fire cannot be taken to another house is while fishing is going on, as this might turn the luck of the fishermen; but it may be carried in other seasons of the year. Kettles and teapots, on the other hand, are carried to other houses and back again at any season.

[1] See Part I, p. 269. [2] Ibid., p. 268. [3] Ibid., p. 209, No. 52.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

Koryak consisted of families bound together by ties of blood or marriage or by economic relations, — the poor and weak were vassals of the rich and strong, — but these ties were based only in part on consanguinity; and the elders, elected as directed by the Russian Government, were not the natural heads of their communities. The representative principle itself has been accepted very superficially. Among the Maritime Koryak a few old men of the settlement meet, and, if any one points out a man of executive ability, the others give him their support. The results of these elections are communicated to the chief of the district, either directly or through the Cossacks. The district chief reports to the Governor of the Maritime Province residing in Vladivostok, who confirms the elder in his office. The elder generally remains in office for a number of years, and then resigns. Among the Reindeer Koryak these so-called "elections" of elders are still simpler. The elder is always one of the richest men, and is elected according to the instructions of the old men, possessors of herds, who decide the matter at a meeting.

The elder gathers the yasak, and delivers it at the Russian headquarters; he supervises the delivery of dogs by the families in his district, and superintends the people during the passing of Cossacks or the mail, and the visits of the officials, doctor, or minister; and he divides among the inhabitants of the settlement the pay for the transportation of mails. Those Koryak who live away from the main route have no mail to transport, and but seldom furnish free dog or reindeer sledges for the officials.

The elders of the Reindeer Koryak often simplify the fulfilment of the duties above enumerated. Possessing great numbers of reindeer, they furnish their own animals for the transportation of officials, and frequently pay out in their own fur or reindeer-skins the yasak for the entire group. The Taigonos elder, however, exacts the yasak from the members of his group.

During the summer, when communication with the Russians is temporarily suspended, the functions of elders also come to an end, for in no other phase of the family or social life are the elders of any account. Quarrels within the family do not spread beyond its limits, and friction between strangers is checked in one way or another by the parties concerned, without the interference of a recognized authoritative power.

Custom and religious taboos regulate the mutual relations of individuals and families. Frequently the opinions of old men exert a moral pressure on the conduct of the interested parties. All this does not, of course, exclude occasional violence on the part of the stronger man. On the whole, however, the general softening of manners, under the influence of Russian proximity, and possibly to a certain extent the weakening pulse of the primitive vital energy, have of late rendered violence a rare phenomenon.

It must, I think, be admitted that the imposed institution of elders is not devoid of all importance; for, though in a limited degree, it leads to the

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

practice of the principle of representation, and develops to some extent the authority of representative persons. In Itkana, for instance, the elder, besides paying the yasak of the "clan," makes purchases of flour, powder, and other articles in the official stores, and divides them among the families, whose faith in his impartiality is implicit. 622 177

I settled with individual drivers for the transportation of freight or of myself and my associates; but whenever a greater number of sledges was required, I always resorted to the elder of the settlement, who directed me to the men willing to be hired. The details were arranged with the men individually. Once when I had hired skin boats in Penshina Bay, I handed over to the elder the entire pay, consisting of bricks of tea, and he divided them among the owners of the boats and the oarsmen. On one occasion I saw an elder in the Paren settlement take by force the dogs of an old man for the transportation of Cossacks. This quarrelsome old man was dissatisfied with his share of the pay for the transportation of mail allotted to him by the elder, and refused to furnish dogs, as required by the free transportation obligation; whereupon the elder untied by force two dogs of his pack, and harnessed them to one of the sledges. Of course, he could not have done this if the other members of the settlement had not been on his side. On various occasions the elders complained to me of the disobedience of the people. The elder of the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula, whose personality and riches in reindeer had made him very influential, expressed to me his wish that the Czar might allow lazy herdsmen to be punished. He claimed that young men nowadays were worth nothing. This shows that the elder himself saw the source of his power in the Russian Government, and not in the customs of his people. Russian laws regarding the natives of Siberia, by the way, do authorize the elders to inflict punishment for trivial offences. Of course, the elder did not know this, and, had he known it, could not have acted according to this law, it being opposed to the usages of the Koryak. 622 177 626 [556]

In reference to food, Russian influence shows itself in favor of individualistic tendencies as against the tendencies of primitive communism in this matter. 421 177

In ancient traditions the ideal hunter is represented as follows. He heaps the results of the chase on the shore, and bids the inhabitants of the settlement divide them among themselves, and he takes for himself only what is left. He sits at a distance and watches how his catch is divided.[1] At the present time this principle is followed to a certain extent in hunting the whale, and even the white whale.[2] When their meat is divided, the entire settlement is invited. In regard to the white whale, however, this custom is not everywhere observed. I think that in reference to the products of hunting and fishing, indications of the principle of work could from the earliest times be 224

[1] See, for instance, Part I, Tale 94, p. 275.

[2] See Part I, p. 56.

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sea hunting with reindeer-breeding. The remaining 7 groups of Koryaks—the Kamentsy, Parentsy, Itkantsy, Apukintsy, Kereks, Karagintsy and Palantsy—also maintained complex economies, with one or another occupation predominating.

Koryak reindeer-breeding was of two types. The first type—the keeping of large herds—existed among the Chavchuvens. In the early part of the 20th century, a small group of reindeer-breeders owned large herds, accounting for up to 80% of the total number of head. In the area of the Penzhina River, some reindeer-breeders owned 2-3 herds, adding up to as many as 10,000 reindeer. The pasturing of the large herds owned by the rich Koryaks was done by poor Koryaks who owned only a few reindeer or none at all, and were compelled to tend their master's herds in exchange for food and clothing.

The reindeer provided the principal item of the reindeer-breeders' diet—meat, and the basic material for clothing and housing—hides, as well as tendons, of which thread was made. At the same time, the reindeer was to the reindeer-breeders the sole means of transportation. Hence, the entire life of the reindeer-breeding Koryaks was adapted to the demands of their basic occupation. In winter, the herd grazed near the encampment. As soon as the pasture was exhausted, the master drove out in a light sled, similar to that of the Chukchi and harnessed to a pair of deer, to search for another pasture. After that, the entire camp migrated to the new site, and the herdsmen drove the herd to the new pasture. Such migrations took place 4-5 times during the winter. In the spring, before the calving (in April), the females were separated from the rest of the herd. Calving time (May) was the hardest period for the reindeer-breeders. The newborn calves had to be protected from predators—wolves, foxes, wolverines and ravens, and also kept from freezing. At this time, the herdsmen had no rest either by day or by night. They were helped by members of their families, and even old men and children took part in guarding the herd in encampments where the human population was small. Afterwards, the herdsmen drove the herds for the whole summer into the mountains, which abounded in pasturelands. The correct choice of the summer pasture determined the welfare of the herd for the entire year. Summer pasturing required from the reindeer-breeder great skill, experience, and knowledge of the tundra and the reindeer's requirements. The encampment was situated at this period in a summer site, usually on the bank of a river abounding in fish. In autumn (at the end of September and beginning of October), the herdsmen brought the herd to the encampment. Meeting of the herd—one of the principal holidays of the reindeer-breeders—was attended by numerous rituals. After the first snow, the herd and the camp migrated to the winter range.

The herding was done without dogs, which the Koryak reindeer-breeders did not use. Nimble feet, alert eyes and a leather lasso requiring great skill of the herdsmen—these were the means at his disposal to protect the herd from snowstorms and wolves in winter, from foxes and ravens in spring, during the calving season, and from mosquitoes and gnats in summer.

Another type of reindeer-breeding—that of small herds—existed among the Alyutortsy Koryaks. More than 50% of all the Alyutortsy kept reindeer, but few had herds as large as 1000 head. A characteristic feature of Alyutor reindeer-breeding was the use of dogs as the principal sled animals. Each household had one, two, three or more teams. Reindeer were used only for short trips without loads.

This type of reindeer-breeding was usually combined with sea hunting and fishing. All the Alyutortsy, with rare exceptions, went out on sea hunts, especially in spring, when they hunted on drifting ice floes. In summer,

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relations, especially among the coastal Koryaks. Thus, related families of Alyutortsy combined in summertime for common fishing. The catch was divided equally among them. Their sea hunting was also collective. From seven to eight persons went out to hunt together. On returning to the village, they divided the meat and fat of the seals killed during the hunt in equal shares among all the residents of the village; only the skin of the bearded or common seal went to the man who killed it. Kamentsy also shared equally the meat and fat of the seal they hunted in common, but sometimes the owner of the boat took a larger share.

The reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy also combined into 4-6 kindred families, which nomadized and herded their deer in common. These were productive associations of a temporary nature, similar to the temporary associations of fishermen and sea hunters.

According to 18th-19th-century data, the coastal Koryak family was already economically self-sufficient at that time. Individual families owned boats, nets, and traps, which they were free to use at their own discretion, down to selling them to other families. But there were also cases where nets belonged collectively to related families.

Even by the time of the Revolution, social inequality was not sharply expressed among the coastal Koryaks. They lived predominantly in a subsistence, consumption economy, with fur as the only commodity for sale.

The situation among the Chavchuvens was quite different. Even in the early part of the 18th century, Krasheninnikov wrote about the wealth of individual reindeer-breeders. Thus, already there was sharp property differentiation among the reindeer-breeders at that time. The process of stratification became still more intensified in the 19th century in connection with the development of trade.

At the time of the Revolution, there were among the reindeer-breeders men of great wealth, who owned herds of thousands of reindeer. On the other hand, there were householders owning only 10-15 reindeer and therefore compelled to work for the rich as herdsmen. Very often, distant relatives of the owners also became herdsmen; in such cases, family relations served as a cover for the usual exploitation.

In exchange for his hard labor in tending the reindeer, the herdsman received from his master only meat for his food and skins for his clothing, with the quantity of the compensation dependent entirely on the will of the master. The encampment of the rich Koryak usually included several families of herdsmen entirely dependent on their master economically and subject to his will in everything. The herdsmen could not kill a reindeer for food without the master's permission, and therefore often went hungry. In addition to tending reindeer, they performed a variety of other tasks: prepared firewood, brought water, hunted fur animals. The rich reindeer-breeder disposed of the labor of the herdsman's family as well. The herdsman's wife and daughters processed the reindeer skins for the master, made thread of reindeer sinew, sewed clothing and boots of reindeer-skins, etc. It was difficult for a herdsman to leave his master. Although custom permitted the changing of masters (in the fall, when the season began), in reality this was difficult to accomplish. The chief obstacle was the "debts" which the herdsman had managed to incur with his master: during the year he obtained from the latter small quantities of tea, sugar, flour, cartridges, etc. The master was not bound to provide imported goods; he merely had to "feed" his herdsmen. For a year's work, the herdsman received a female reindeer. As a rule, each herdsman owned 5-6, and only occasionally 10 or more, reindeer, earned by several years of hard labor. Naturally, with such a small number of reindeer it was impossible to live independently.

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

Among the reindeer-breeding Alyutortsy there were associations of families with small reindeer herds, bound by blood or affinal kinship. The typical correlation of reindeer in a herd owned in common by five households was: 5% + 10% + 20% + 25% + 30% = 90%. The other 10% of the herd usually belonged to sedentary relatives of the reindeer-breeders. Property inequality among the Alyutortsy was less pronounced than it was among the Chavchuvens. There were only a few cases where one of the co-owners in the association owned as much as 60% of the combined herd.

Thus, the backward forms of the Koryaks' subsistence economy fostered the preservation of communal relations among them.

The existence of clan relations among the Koryaks in the past is indicated by a number of aspects of their social life, and particularly by their family and marital ceremonials, which persisted into the first quarter of the 20th century. Among the survivals of clan organization we must note the custom of mutual assistance among related families, the custom forbidding outsiders to use the fire of an unrelated family, the residence (according to 18th-19th-century sources) of several related families in the same dwelling, the custom of vendetta, which survived until the early years of the 20th century, etc. In addition, the coastal Koryaks still retained traces of the institution of elders. In some of the villages there were persons called nym'elgen-an—"the guardian of the place," "the guardian of the past." This position could be held only by a man who was considered a descendant of the founder of the village. Each group of Koryaks headed by a nym'elgen-an had its own wooden image. In addition to the general designation of nym'elgen, the image also had its own name. Some of these names ("swallow," "duck") were of totemic character. Sacrifices were made to the images; they were "fed" and "dressed" in grass clothing.

Family relations at the end of the 19th century were based on patriarchal norms (patrilineal kinship, inheritance from father to son, patrilocal marriage). Along with this, there were survivals of matriarchy, the most distinct of which was the granting of children to the mother in case of divorce.

Among the remnants of extinct forms of group marriage were the surviving custom of the sororate, according to which a widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece of his dead wife, and the custom of the levirate, according to which a younger brother had to marry the widow of his older brother; in the absence of a brother, this duty devolved on the nephew or cousin of the dead husband. However, such survivals of group marriage as the Chukchi "association by wife" were already unknown among the Koryaks in the 18th century.

The most common method of contracting a marriage was by working for the wife. Under this custom, the groom had to work from 2-3 months to three years in the family of his future father-in-law, taking part in tending reindeer and other tasks. After the expiration of the work period, the groom performed the so-called ceremony of "catching the bride": the bride ran about in the house, and the groom had to catch her, tear her clothing, and touch her bare body. The bride's relatives present at the ceremony tried to hinder this in every way, beat the groom with twigs, pushed him away, and so on.

According to Koryak religion, the whole world was inhabited by a multitude of harmful beings—nin'vit's. The nin'vit's were invisible, but could become visible if they chose. They appeared to people in the form of anthropomorphic creatures, with huge ears, burning eyes (sometimes with one eye, sometimes with three), with long sharp teeth and a body covered with thick black fur. It was thought that the nin'vit's hunted and ate people by entering them and causing illness. To placate the nin'vit's, the Koryaks

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

231 264 342 Their huts are made much in the ſame manner as thoſe of other wandering people, but leſs than thoſe of the *Calmucks*. In the winter they cover them with raw deer-ſkins, and in the ſummer with tanned. They have no flooring or ſeparation within their huts; in the middle only are four little ſtakes driven, between which is their hearth. To theſe ſtakes they commonly tie their dogs, which frequently drag the victuals out of the kettles while it is dreſſing; and notwithſtanding their maſters beat them very ſeverely, they generally come in for a ſhare of every piece. A man muſt be very hungry to be able to eat with theſe people. Inſtead of waſhing their kettles or platters they give them to the dogs to lick, and the very fleſh which they tear from the mouths of the dogs they throw again into the kettles without waſhing it.

171 342 The *Tchukotſkoi* winter huts are much preferable to thoſe of the *Koreki*, being much warmer and more roomy. Several families live in the ſame hut, all having their proper benches, upon which deer-ſkins are ſpread, whereon they ſit or ſleep. Upon each bench a lamp burns day and night, for which they uſe fiſh-oil and a wick of moſs. They have an opening in the top, which ſerves for a chimney; however they are almoſt as ſmoaky as thoſe of the *Koreki*, but ſo warm, that in the coldeſt 171 places the women ſit naked. The cloaths which they wear are 291 made of rein-deer ſkins, not differing in the leaſt from thoſe of the *Kamtſchadales*, who purchaſe them from the *Koreki*. They feed upon the fleſh of the rein-deer, in which they very 233 much abound, ſome of the rich having ten or twenty thouſand; 356 nay, one of the chiefs was ſaid to have one hundred thouſand: 262 but yet they are ſo penurious, that they are ſorry to kill any 574 for their own uſe, ſatisfying themſelves with ſuch as die naturally, or are killed by the wolves. Of this carrion, indeed, they have plenty; and they are not aſhamed to excuſe themſelves from entertaining travellers by telling them that none of their deer

deer are killed or have died lately

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

times to ſet little rods round their huts. When they kill a dog, one perſon holds it by the head, another by the tail, and a third ſtabs it in the ſide; when it is dead they ſtick it upon a ſtake, turning its face towards the neareſt burning mountain.

Their civil policy is as rude as their religious; they know nothing of dividing the year into months; they have names indeed for the four ſeaſons. They have only names for the four cardinal winds. Of the conſtellations they know the Great Bear, which they call, in their language, the wild rein-deer; the Pleiades they name the duck's neſt; and the Milky Way the ſcattered river.

The diſtance of places they reckon by their day's journey, which is between 30 and 50 verſts.

Before they were ſubject to the Empire of *Ruſſia* they never had any government or chief magiſtrate among them, only thoſe that were rich had ſome ſort of authority over the poor; nor before that did they know any thing of an oath. At preſent, inſtead of ſwearing upon the croſs or goſpel, our Coſſacks oblige them to hold a muſquet by the barrel, threatening, that whoever does not obſerve this oath will certainly be ſhot by a ball. This they are ſo much afraid of, that rather than clear themſelves by this oath, if guilty, they will confeſs their crime.

They are quite ignorant of all good manners, not only in common compliments, but in receiving ſtrangers, whom they treat with an air of ſuperiority. When they entertain their gueſts they don't oblige them to over-eat themſelves, as the *Kamtſchadales* do, but give them what they have in ſufficient plenty; their beſt victuals is fat meat, and all theſe barbarous nations are exceſſively fond of fat. The *Jakutſki* would loſe an eye for a piece of fat horſe fleſh, and the *Tchukotſkoi* for a fat dog. The *Jakutſki* know that the ſtealing of any cattle is puniſhed with the loſs of all their goods; yet, if they have an opportunity, they can't reſtrain themſelves from ſtealing a fat horſe, comforting themſelves amidſt